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The Daily 202

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‘A product of the 9/11 generation’: Pete Buttigieg leans into his youth as he outlines a foreign policy



Buttigieg makes 'urgent' call for 'new foreign policy vision'



BY JAMES HOHMANN
with Joanie Greve and Mariana Alfaro

THE BIG IDEA: When Pete Buttigieg was born in 1982, Ronald Reagan was president. Joe Biden had been in the Senate for a decade, Bernie Sanders was mayor of Burlington, Vt., and Donald Trump was a Democrat.

The 37-year-old, who is polling in the top tier of

Democratic presidential candidates, was a sophomore at Harvard when the twin towers fell on Sept. 11, 2001. He debated with classmates whether the United States should invade Iraq as Mark Zuckerberg wrote the code for what would become Facebook in a dorm across the street. Buttigieg missed his 10-year college reunion because he was deployed to Bagram Airfield in Afghanistan, serving as an intelligence officer in the Navy Reserve.

Buttigieg invoked 9/11 seven times during a 57-minute speech on Tuesday that sketched out his vision for foreign policy and national security. “As a mayor from the industrial Midwest, as a product of the 9/11 generation and as a veteran of the Afghanistan conflict, my own worldview is shaped, predictably, by my life experience,” he explained to a full auditorium at the University of Indiana in Bloomington.

The man who could become America’s first openly gay president is also the first member of “the 9/11 generation” to credibly contend for a major party’s nomination. Marco Rubio, as a point of comparison, was the youthful candidate in 2016. But he was already in his 30s and serving in the Florida House on Sept. 11. In contrast, Buttigieg recalled reading “[The End of History](#)” by Francis Fukuyama when he arrived in college in the autumn of 2000. By the time he finished his studies at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar in 2007, that argument

seemed tragically quaint and America was mired in two quagmires.

“I fear that someday soon we may receive news of the first U.S. casualty of the 9/11 wars who was born after 9/11,” he said on Tuesday. “None of us will live to see the end of history.”

-- Buttigieg delivered this speech – his first significant policy address – to blunt the nagging criticism from major donors, media elites and naysayers in the Democratic firmament that he’s too young and inexperienced to become commander in chief. And he’s still got his work cut out on that front.

This is a second-term mayor of Indiana’s fourth-biggest city, population 101,081. I’d be hugely impressed if you’re not a Hoosier and could name the mayors of Indianapolis, Fort Wayne and Evansville.

Buttigieg finished third in the DNC chairman’s race just last year and was almost entirely unknown a few months ago beyond a small cadre of political reporters cultivated by his team. One of the reasons he’s running for president is because he’s probably too liberal to win statewide in a place as red as Indiana has become. In 2010, Buttigieg ran for state treasurer and lost by 25 points to Richard Mourdock. That’s the Republican who would lose a U.S. Senate race two years later after declaring that a woman who gets pregnant by her rapist is

carrying a “[gift from God](#)” and thus must have the child.

In the early months of his campaign, Buttigieg has faced questions about whether he’s leaned too much on his personality and not talked enough about substance. You probably know he speaks [several languages](#) and learned Norwegian so he could read more books by an author he liked, but you might struggle to explain where he comes down on the major litmus tests that have characterized the early stages of the nominating contest.



Pete Buttigieg is driven to a fundraiser in West Hollywood, Calif. (Allison Zaucha for The Washington Post)

-- Buttigieg seems determined to avoid the fate of Gary Hart – the [1984](#) version who took on former vice president Walter Mondale, not the 1988 iteration brought down by whatever hanky-panky happened aboard the Monkey Business. He spent weeks working with a growing kitchen cabinet of volunteer advisers, including several [alumni](#) of Barack Obama's administration, to craft a meaty speech that could show there's beef in that [patty](#).

So, rather than apologize for his youth, the boy mayor leaned into it. A recurring trope of the speech was that Americans should be thinking about what they want the country to look like in 2054. It's no coincidence that this is when Buttigieg will turn 72, the age of the current president. (Trump turns 73 on Friday.)

“Thinking about the world three to four decades from now is exactly how we need to compete with countries like China, because that is how they are thinking, planning and investing,” he said.

Buttigieg used the word “future” a dozen times. “We face not just another presidential election, but a transition between one era and another,” he said. “I believe that the next three or four years will determine the next 30 or 40

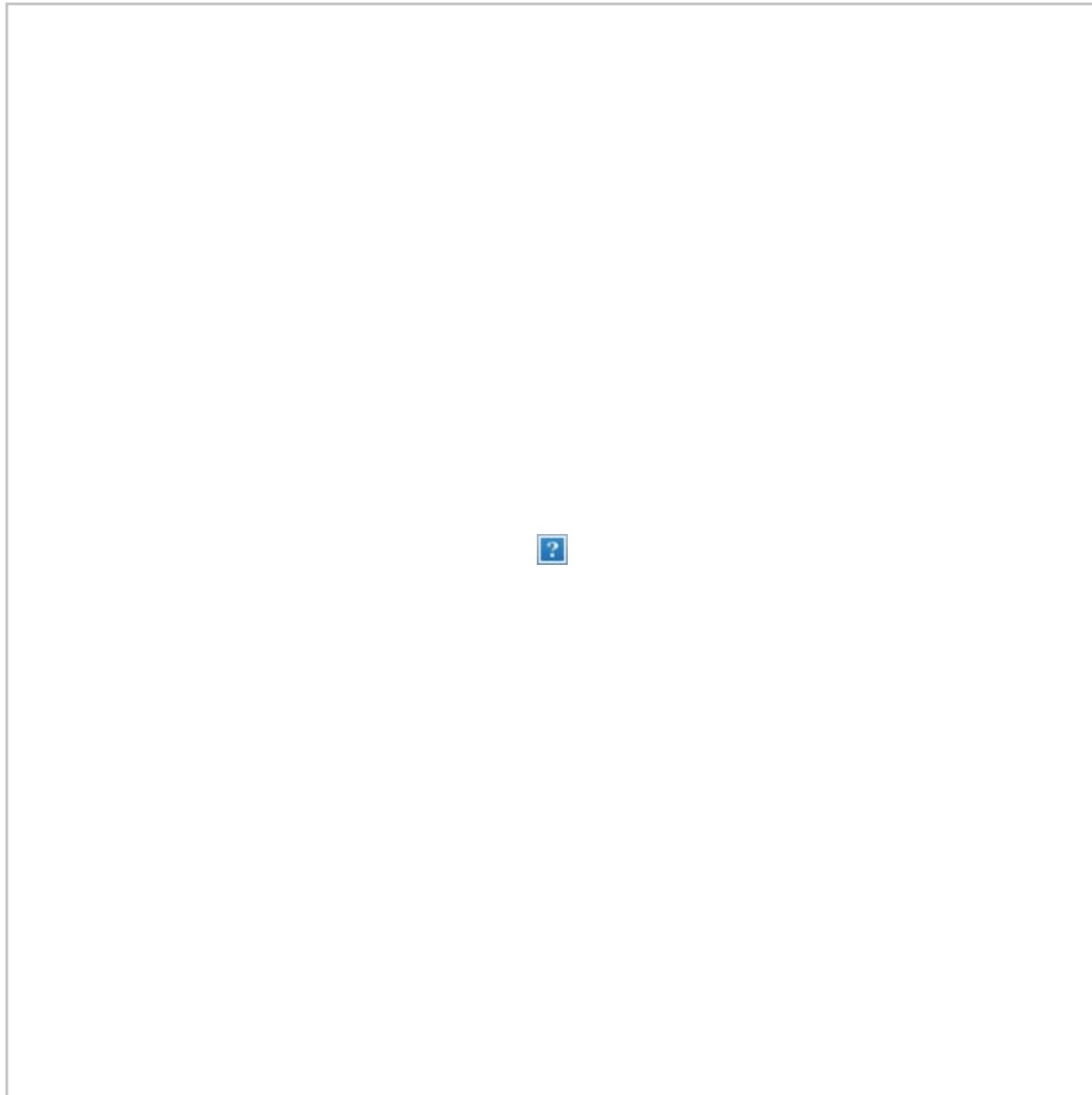
for our country and our world.”

Among other things, he said, this requires a modernized approach to defense spending and rethinking the priorities of the past. “The U.S. has long sought to maintain total dominance in conventional war. But in the coming decades, we are more likely than ever to face insurgencies, asymmetric attacks and high-tech strikes with cyberweapons or drones,” Buttigieg said. “Yet our latest defense budget calls for spending more on three Virginia-class submarines — \$10.2 billion — than on cyberdefenses. It proposes spending more on a single frigate than on artificial intelligence and machine learning.”

-- Without naming names, Buttigieg chastised the old guard of the Democratic Party. “I should acknowledge that, for the better part of my lifetime, it has been difficult to identify a consistent foreign policy in the Democratic Party,” he said. “We see leaders promise, again and again, to end the forever wars — only to fall short.”

He endorsed efforts to rescind the authorization for the use of military force that passed after 9/11. “As someone ... who believed, back in 2014, that our involvement in Afghanistan was coming to an end and that I was one of the last to turn out the lights,” the mayor said, “the time has come for Congress to repeal and replace that blank check on the use of force and ensure a

robust debate on future operations.”



Buttigieg speaks Tuesday at Indiana University. (Michael Conroy/AP)

-- Trump never delivered a speech this substantive before locking up the GOP nomination in 2016. The transcript of Buttigieg's remarks runs over 7,500 words. He spoke with moral clarity about human rights abuses that the Trump administration has sought to sweep under the rug, specifically involving Saudi Arabia

and the president's refusal to hold the regime accountable for the murder of Washington Post contributing columnist Jamal Khashoggi. He said military intervention in Venezuela and Iran would not be in the national interest. He promised to recommit to the nuclear agreement with Tehran and the climate accord signed in Paris.

He covered all about major flash points like Israel (he was critical of Bibi Netanyahu but supportive of Israel) but also discussed areas that get less attention, such as Africa. “In Algeria, a new generation has risen up against a sclerotic government,” he said. “In Sudan, women have led a revolt against a criminal one. And, in Ethiopia, we have seen what it looks like when hope triumphs over hostility. By 2025, nearly one-fifth of the world’s population will live in the nations of a rising Africa: 60 percent of whose people are now under the age of 25. … As African peoples demand greater accountability and transparency from their leaders, the United States must stand ready to put our values into action, to promote empowerment alongside economic engagement.”

He never named Trump, but he sure trolled him. On North Korea, for example, he said, “You will not see me exchanging love letters on White House letterhead with a brutal dictator who starves and murders his own people.”

On the other hand, Buttigieg favorably quoted traditional Republicans such as Dwight Eisenhower.

He was also unequivocal in expressing support for the concept of “American exceptionalism,” something that has tripped up so many on the left in recent decades. And he paid tribute to Dick Lugar by comparing himself to the late GOP senator, who earned bipartisan plaudits for his work on arms control and nuclear nonproliferation. “What’s not to like,” Buttigieg joked, “about a onetime mayor from Indiana who cut his teeth as a Rhodes Scholar and a Navy intelligence officer?”

He didn’t name Reagan, but he spoke of the need for America to again be that shining city upon the hill. “At home and abroad, it is not too late for America to restore her leadership position as a beacon of values that are both universal and at the core of the American project,” Buttigieg said. “It is hard to stand for human rights abroad when we’re turning away asylum seekers at our own borders. ... The idea that the ‘American way’ is superior will be difficult to authenticate as long as our federal government is liable to shut down over policy disagreements. ... Strength is more than military power. It’s our power of inspiration.”



CONTENT FROM MIKE BLOOMBERG

Beyond Carbon: Bloomberg launches new climate plan

Beyond Carbon is the largest coordinated effort to tackle climate change our country has ever seen, accelerating the transition to a 100% clean energy economy. Read the plan [here](#).





Bernie Sanders campaigns on Sunday at the Grand River Center in Dubuque, Iowa.
(Eileen Meslar/Telegraph Herald/AP)

-- Sanders will deliver a speech this afternoon at George Washington University that tries to contextualize “democratic socialism” as the natural evolution of the New Deal. Just as Henry Wallace sought to do during the 1948 campaign, he will claim the mantle of Franklin Roosevelt and present himself as a rightful heir to the 32nd president.

“In the second decade of the 21st century, we must take up the unfinished business of the New Deal and carry it to completion,” Sanders plans to say, according to early excerpts shared by his campaign. “Today, we guarantee civil rights and equal rights because we understand that racism and discrimination cannot exist in a truly free society. Now we must take the next step forward and guarantee every man, woman and child in our country basic economic rights – the right to quality health care, the right to as much education as one needs to succeed in our society, the right to a decent job, the right to affordable housing, the right to a secure retirement and the right to live in a clean environment. We must recognize that ... economic rights are human rights. This is what I mean by democratic socialism.”

FDR was president when Sanders, 77, was born in September 1941, before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Ditto with Biden, 76, who was born in November 1942. Trump was born in June 1946. Technically, unlike the president, Sanders and Biden do not qualify as baby boomers because they were already alive when the war ended. But all three can be grouped together as part of the Vietnam generation. None of the three served in the military. The last few years have illustrated that age does not necessarily equate with maturity. Perhaps there’s a correlation, but septuagenarians can behave every bit as much like teenagers as tricenarians.



Biden says Trump is 'an existential threat to America'

MORE ON 2020:

-- Biden and Trump spent yesterday exchanging insults in Iowa, previewing the one-on-one campaign they both crave. [Matt Viser, John Wagner and Jenna Johnson report](#): “Biden questioned the president’s intelligence and challenged his morals. By turns chiding and goading, Biden, whose speeches can sometimes ramble and meander, offered one of his most coherent

rationales for seeking the presidency. 'The president is *literally* an existential threat to America,' Biden said in Ottumwa, the first of several events in Iowa in which he delivered a multipronged indictment of Trump's policies, values and character.

"Trump, who has repeatedly brushed aside the advice of aides who warn against elevating Biden by attacking him, responded with the plain-spoken vitriol that built his political brand. He pointed to Biden's dismal finish in the 2008 presidential campaign, saying Barack Obama 'took him off the trash heap' by making Biden his running mate, and suggesting the former vice president has lost a step. 'He's a different guy,' Trump said as he left the White House for Iowa. 'He looks different than he used to. He acts different than he used to. He's even slower than he used to be. ... Biden is a dummy.'"

-- This showdown between two men who've been in the public eye for decades, raises a new question: What can either contender tell voters about the other that they don't already know? [Politico's John F. Harris riffs:](#) "Both men, of course, believe the answer is plenty. It made for an arresting few hours in the narrative wars on which modern presidential campaigns are waged — an exercise that seemed as much about psychological intimidation as political persuasion. In both cases, Biden and Trump with their mockery and insults seemed determined to get in each other's head as much as in

voters'. And in both cases, the message was a variant of 'It's getting late in the day for you, old man.' ... Above all, [Biden] said Trump is too self-absorbed to care about ordinary people: 'Donald, it's not about you — it's about America.' For his part, Trump didn't stop at saying Biden's message is old and tired. He said the Democrat's physical and mental faculties are the same, dispensing almost entirely with euphemism and indirection."

-- Rep. Steve King (R-Iowa) was not allowed on Air Force One for the president's trip to Iowa. [CNN's Jeff Zeleny reports](#): "King, who represents the state's 4th District in Western Iowa, asked the White House to join the President's entourage, but administration officials rejected the request . . . Republican Sens. Joni Ernst of Iowa and Deb Fischer of Nebraska joined Trump aboard Air Force One. Ernst had not been planning to travel with the President, citing her voting schedule."

-- Biden endorsed the idea of a primary debate focused on climate change, becoming the 15th Democratic presidential candidate to do so.

"That's what we should be doing," Biden told a Greenpeace activist in Iowa. "I'm all in, man. Take a look at what I'm talking about — and by the way, the first climate change plan in the history of the Congress? Biden." [From David Weigel](#): "Biden has been at pains to emphasize his devotion to climate action, especially since an aide was quoted as saying Biden would take a 'middle

road' to fighting climate change — a characterization he strongly disputes."

-- The former vice president's Clarence Thomas problem is bigger than Anita Hill: In 1991, Biden dismissed concerns expressed by women's groups that Thomas would try to gut *Roe v. Wade* if confirmed to the Supreme Court. [HuffPost's Amanda Terkel reports](#) that Biden told women who testified against Thomas, before Hill's story came out, that they showed a "failure of logic" for suggesting that Thomas had extreme views on abortion. The then-chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee was quickly proved wrong, but he's never apologized. For 28 years now, Thomas has been [the most outspoken opponent](#) of abortion rights on the high court.

-- Sen. Kamala Harris (D-Calif.) said her Justice Department would have “no choice” but to prosecute Trump. [From NPR's Scott Detrow](#): "I believe that they would have no choice, and that they should. Yes. There has to be accountability. I mean, look, people might, you know, question why I became a prosecutor, well I'll tell you one of the reasons. I believe there should be accountability. Everyone should be held accountable. And the president is not above the law."

-- Sanders wants the leftist former president of Brazil released from prison. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva has been

imprisoned on corruption charges, but an investigation suggested that a judge plotted with prosecutors to convict Lula. [The Intercept's Aida Chávez and Akela Lacy report](#): “Sanders said that the exposures should free Lula. ‘Today, it is clearer than ever that Lula da Silva was imprisoned in a politicized prosecution that denied him a fair trial and due process. During his presidency, Lula oversaw huge reductions in poverty and remains Brazil’s most popular politician. I stand with political and social leaders across the globe who are calling on Brazil’s judiciary to release Lula and annul his conviction,’ Sanders said in a statement.”

-- Sanders, Harris, Elizabeth Warren and Amy Klobuchar signed on to a Senate letter demanding that McDonald's address complaints of sexual harassment. “The lawmakers urged chief executive Steve Easterbrook to require all McDonald’s franchise stores to update their policies against harassment, abuse and employee retaliation. They also wanted to know how the fast-food giant would evaluate workplaces to address harassment complaints and investigate reports of unsafe working conditions,” [Hamza Shaban reports](#).

-- New Quinnipiac polls show Trump trailing several Democratic candidates in head-to-head matchups. [From Aaron Blake](#): “Trump trails all six by between five and 13 points, with Biden holding the biggest advantage and the lesser-known candidates — Sen. Cory Booker

(N.J.) and Buttigieg — holding the smallest leads.”

-- Trump's consideration of tariffs against Mexico rattled Republicans in Arizona, which has solidified its status as a battleground in 2020. [The New York Times's Trip Gabriel reports](#): “Arizona’s Chamber of Commerce, a proxy for the Republican establishment, predicted devastation if tariffs were placed on Mexican imports such as fruits and vegetables. Grass-roots Trump supporters — who are often at odds with the business community — stuck with the president. … Those crosscurrents are on ample display in Chandler, a desert boomtown of 250,000 that reflects the demographic changes buffeting Arizona politics. … Once staunchly Republican, many Chandler precincts were colored purple on a map of last year’s midterms. … Now, both parties believe that Arizona, which Mr. Trump won by about 90,000 votes, or 3.5 percentage points, is in play in the 2020 presidential race. Who wins will come down, in no small part, to places like Chandler, with its well-educated independent voters.”

-- The Trump campaign claims that it's considering putting resources in Oregon next year, a state that has not voted for a Republican since Ronald Reagan in 1984. [CNN's Dana Bash](#) writes up a memo from Trump campaign pollster Tony Fabrizio about ideas for “expanding the map” to give the president more options for getting 270 electoral votes: “Fabrizio maintains that

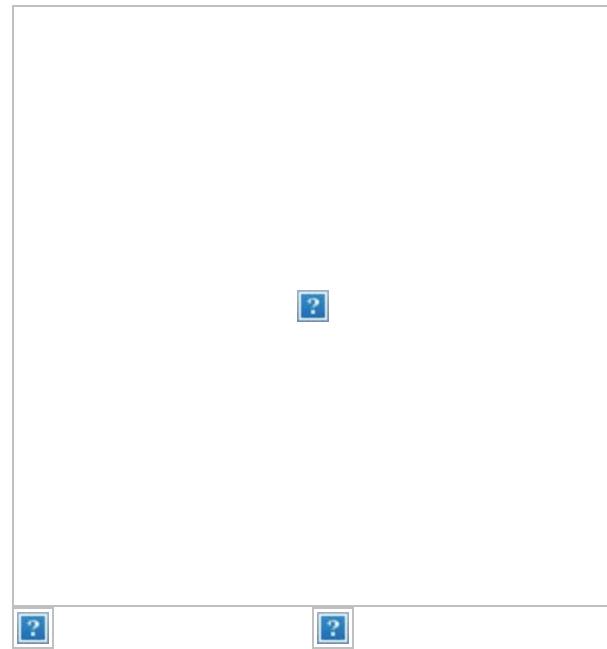
New Hampshire, New Mexico and Nevada -- all states that Trump lost in 2016 -- are now 'highly competitive.' Those are three states where the Trump campaign already has resources on the ground. ... Oregon, however, is no-man's-land for the national GOP. The last Republican to make an early play for Oregon was George W. Bush during his 2004 reelection bid, since he had come within 8,000 votes of Al Gore there in 2000. But Bush lost Oregon to John Kerry by 4 percentage points."



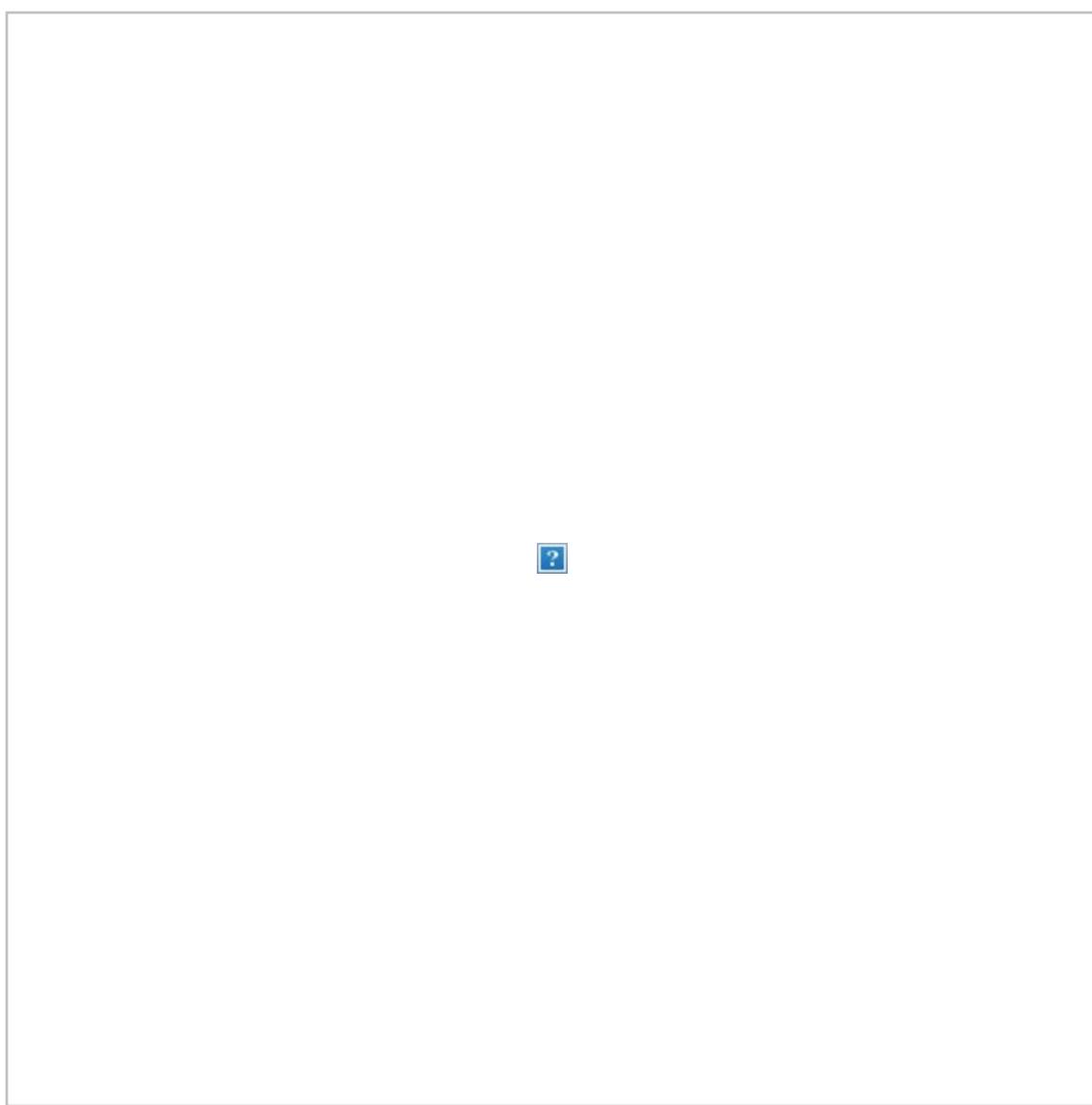
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WHILE YOU WERE SLEEPING:

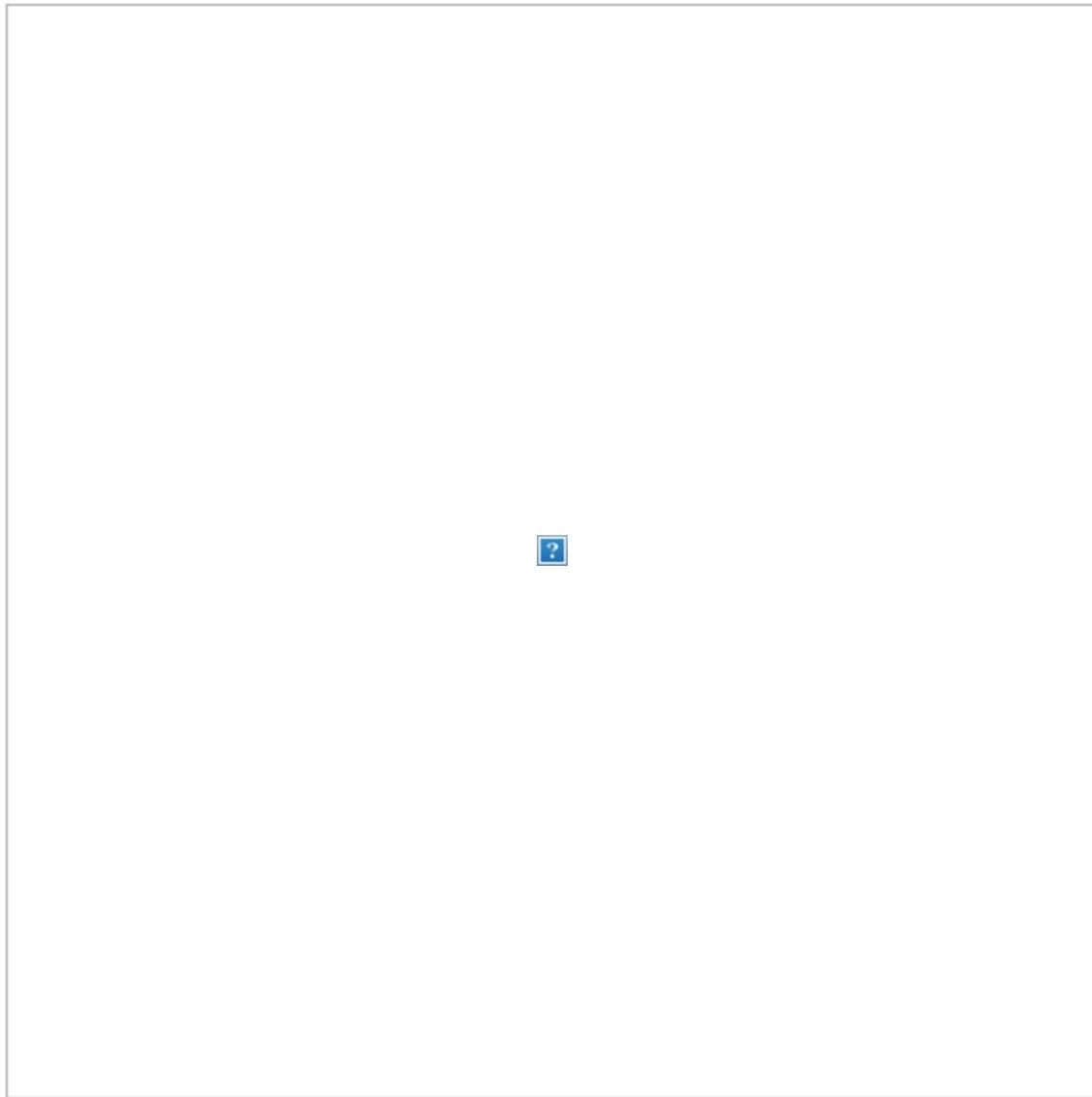


Riot police fire tear gas at protesters outside the Legislative Council in Hong Kong on Wednesday. (Vincent Yu/AP)

-- **Tens of thousands of demonstrators in Hong Kong stormed key city roads in the face of tear gas and rubber bullets Wednesday, after days of heightened tensions over the government's plan to push forward a bill that would allow extraditions to China.** [Timothy McLaughlin reports from the scene](#): "It is the second time in five years that Hong Kong's main roads have been

occupied in defiance of Beijing's tightening control on the semiautonomous city. Hong Kong's Harcourt Road, a major thoroughfare tying the city together, was the scene of major street battles between the young protesters and police throughout the afternoon. The protesters, many of them young people dressed in black, started surrounding the building that houses Hong Kong's main government offices, the Legislative Council, late Tuesday night. ...

“The government has refused to scrap the extradition bill even after an enormous protest over the weekend, which organizers said brought over a million people to the streets. Critics of the bill fear that it would effectively apply China's justice system to the semiautonomous city. Just as lawmakers were scheduled to hold a second reading of the bill at 11 a.m., the president of the legislature announced the reading would be changed 'to a later time, an apparent response to the demonstrations. A final vote on the measure is expected by June 20. Hong Kong's chief executive Carrie Lam joined mainland officials at a banquet Tuesday in Hong Kong, to celebrate the 22nd anniversary of the territory's return to China.”



Alex Morgan celebrates after scoring Team USA's 12th goal during the Women's World Cup match against Thailand. (Alessandra Tarantino/AP)

GET SMART FAST:

- 1. The U.S. women's national soccer team shellacked Thailand 13-0 in a record-breaking rout.** America's victory was the most lopsided win in World Cup history for men or women. ([Steven Goff and Jacob Bogage](#))

2. **The attorneys general of nine states, plus D.C., sued to block the proposed merger of T-Mobile and Sprint.** They argue that the combination of wireless carriers would give the newly formed company an incentive to raise prices and reduce service quality. ([Tony Romm](#))
3. **Alabama's governor signed a bill requiring those convicted of certain sex offenses to undergo “chemical castration” as a condition of parole.** But studies have shown mixed results on the effectiveness of taking testosterone-inhibiting medication — which is already required for some sex offenders as a condition of sentencing, release or supervision in seven other U.S. states and territories. ([Marisa Iati](#))
4. **Two Washington counties — including the one that encompasses Seattle — no longer charge people for possessing small amounts of drugs, including heroin, meth and crack, in virtually all cases.** The approach, now being considered in other parts of the country, has been hailed as a humane alternative to mass incarceration. ([Justin Jouvenal](#))
5. **Wisconsin's Republican-controlled Supreme Court reinstated most of [the legislation](#) that Scott Walker signed during a lame-duck session to limit**

his Democratic successor's power. The conservative court also blocked a trial that was scheduled to start today over a lawsuit challenging one of the laws passed during that session. ([AP](#))

6. **The U.S. Department of Agriculture voted to unionize after employees protested the agency's planned relocation.** The newly formed union would ask the department to allow employees to visit the proposed relocation site and to give them more than 30 days to respond to reassignment letters. ([Ben Guarino and Lisa Rein](#))
7. **Southern Baptist leaders voted overwhelmingly to amend their constitution in hopes that it will help cut down on sex abuse in their churches.** The changes come months after a Houston Chronicle and San Antonio Express-News investigation found about 700 victims of sex abuse in Southern Baptist churches. ([Sarah Pulliam Bailey](#))
8. **Temperatures in San Francisco hit triple digits as a major heat wave grips the West Coast.** The 100-degree reading at San Francisco International Airport set a record for its highest-ever June temperature. ([Ian Livingston](#))
9. **The governor of Texas signed a bill declaring children's lemonade stands legal.** The legislation

prevents cities and neighborhood associations from regulating or prohibiting unlicensed children who sell nonalcoholic drinks on private property. ([The Texas Tribune](#))

10. **Martin Feldstein, who served as Reagan's chief economic adviser and shaped his tax reform effort, died at 79.** Feldstein was respected by leaders of both parties for his deep research and served on Barack Obama's Economic Recovery Advisory Board. ([Heather Long](#))

Trump dismisses calls for impeachment

THERE'S A BEAR IN THE WOODS:

-- **Trump is fixated on his belief that he is immune to impeachment, or the “I-word” as he calls it, because he has done nothing wrong.** [Ashley Parker reports](#) based on interviews with 15 Trump insiders: “The president is intrigued by the notion of impeachment but wary of its practical dangers, one outside adviser said. Trump remembers how Republican impeachment

proceedings in the late 1990s against President Bill Clinton seemed to boost Clinton's approval ratings, and Trump is at his best when battling a perceived foe, several advisers added. Yet he also views impeachment in deeply personal terms. He is less concerned about the potential historical stain on his legacy — Clinton and Andrew Johnson are the only presidents to have been impeached — and more about what he sees as yet another Democratic attack on the legitimacy of his presidency, according to an outside adviser and a White House aide.

“Those close to Trump are offering him advice on impeachment that one outside adviser close to the president described as ‘truly binary.’ On one side are those loyalists, mainly outside the White House, who are telling the president that impeachment could be a political blessing for him and his party — that one road to reelection runs through impeachment. On the other is a larger contingent warning that impeachment, even under the rosiest scenarios, would be a grueling gantlet that would leave him politically bruised, with an asterisk forever marring his presidency.”

-- House Democrats voted to go to court to enforce subpoenas against Attorney General Bill Barr and former White House counsel Don McGahn. [Mike DeBonis](#) [reports](#): “On a party-line vote of 229 to 191, the House passed a resolution that would empower the

House Judiciary Committee to go to court against Barr and McGahn over noncompliance with requests for documents and testimony. The vote keeps Democrats squarely on a meticulous investigative track favored by [Nancy] Pelosi and other top leaders — and away from the formal impeachment inquiry that some 60 rank-and-file Democrats and [several 2020 presidential candidates have been seeking](#). Still, the House vote reflects the frustration among Democrats with Trump's unwillingness to cooperate with congressional investigators."

-- If Democrats vote to hold the attorney general in contempt today, the Justice Department says Barr will ask Trump to assert executive privilege to shield documents from Congress on the administration's decision to add a citizenship question to the 2020 Census. [Matt Zapotosky reports](#): "The revelation came on the eve of an expected Oversight Committee vote to hold Barr and Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross in contempt for failing to turn over documents that lawmakers had subpoenaed, as well as stopping a witness from testifying without a Justice Department lawyer. Assistant Attorney General Stephen E. Boyd wrote that the decision to schedule the vote was 'premature' and accused lawmakers of refusing to negotiate with the department to get at least some of what they wanted."

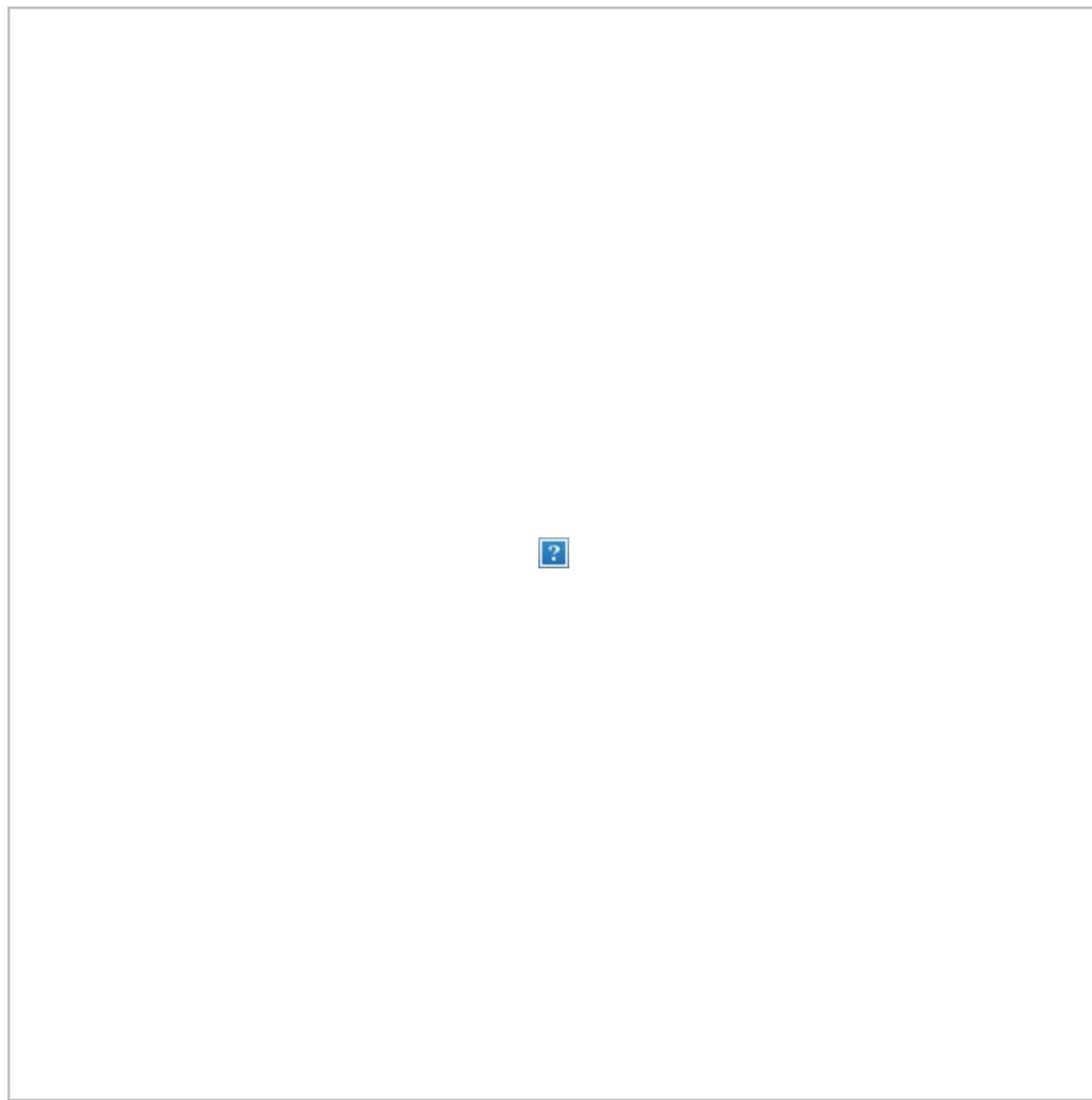
-- Donald Trump Jr. will participate in his second

closed-door interview today with the Senate Intelligence Committee. [Karoun Demirjian and Carol D. Leonnig report](#): “The president’s oldest son is expected to spend about four hours with the committee answering a limited number of questions, according to people familiar with the terms — including queries about a June 2016 meeting at Trump Tower with a Russian lawyer promising incriminating information about Hillary Clinton. Congressional Democrats believe that Trump Jr. may have lied to them during previous testimony about the meeting and whether he told his father about it — suspicions that were heightened after the publication of [Bob] Mueller’s report.”

-- Two senior Trump administration officials said the White House will coordinate with the Justice Department to decide what underlying evidence House Democrats get to see from the special counsel's probe. [The Daily Beast's Betsy Woodruff reports](#): “And, so far, the White House has not waived executive privilege regarding any of Mueller’s materials, the two officials said. Neither official would discuss if the White House plans to use executive privilege to limit Nadler’s access to documents.... The deal reached on Monday still gives Congress expanded access to Mueller’s work. All the members of the House Judiciary Committee, as well as some committee staff, will be able to read some evidence at Justice Department headquarters in downtown D.C. They will be able to take

notes on what they read, and they will be able to take those notes with them when they leave the building.”

-- **Trump's net worth rose to \$3 billion despite the multiple setbacks his businesses have faced.** That's a 5 percent increase, measured by Bloomberg News's Billionaires Index. ([Bloomberg News](#))



Trump holds up folded paper containing 'very simple' Mexico trade deal

THE IMMIGRATION WARS:

-- ““The migration problem is a coffee problem,” [by Kevin Sieff](#): “Guatemala is now the single largest source of migrants attempting to enter the United States — more than 211,000 were apprehended at the Southwest border in the eight months from October to May. In western Guatemala, one of the biggest factors in that surge is the falling price of coffee, from \$2.20 per pound in 2015 to a low this year of 86 cents — about a 60 percent drop. Since 2017, most farmers have been operating at a loss, even as many sell their beans to some of the world’s best-known specialty-coffee brands. A staggering number of those farmers have decided to migrate.”

-- A Post photographer captured an image of Trump’s alleged secret deal with Mexico, revealing some of the document’s contents, including a potential agreement that would leave Central Americans seeking asylum detained in Mexico while their claims are processed. [Aaron Blake writes](#): “The first question is obviously whether the document is legitimate. It is signed by two people, that we can see, but neither of these signatures are from the countries’ respective presidents, top diplomats or ambassadors to the other country. They appear to belong to Marik A. String, the U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for political-military affairs, and Alejandro Celorio Alcantara, a deputy legal adviser in Mexico’s Foreign Ministry. … The document clearly deals with some kind of burden-sharing’ involving ‘refugees.’ The prevailing wisdom is that Trump, in citing a secret

deal, may have been referring to some kind of pact involving asylum rules ... in which Central Americans seeking asylum in the United States would be held in Mexico while their claims are processed. ... It's not clear from the text what the agreement might entail beyond that — or whether all the details have been sorted out."

-- **Trump's request for billions in funds for the border wall could languish in a fragmented Congress.** [Seung Min Kim and Erica Werner report](#): "Not until Tuesday was there some apparent progress in Congress, as Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) announced the Appropriations Committee would begin working on the \$4.5 billion package next week and members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus met privately to discuss what language they could accept as part of the administration's spending request. But it's unclear whether any border package endorsed by Democrats will pass muster with the Trump administration, which has repeatedly asked Congress for legal changes to expand detention capacities and tighten asylum policy but has been rebuffed."

-- **The administration is planning on using an Army base in Oklahoma to hold immigrant children. The facility was a Japanese internment camp during World War II. As William Faulkner wrote: "The past is never dead. It's not even past."** [Time Magazine's W.J. Hennigan reports](#): "Fort Sill, a 150-year-old installation

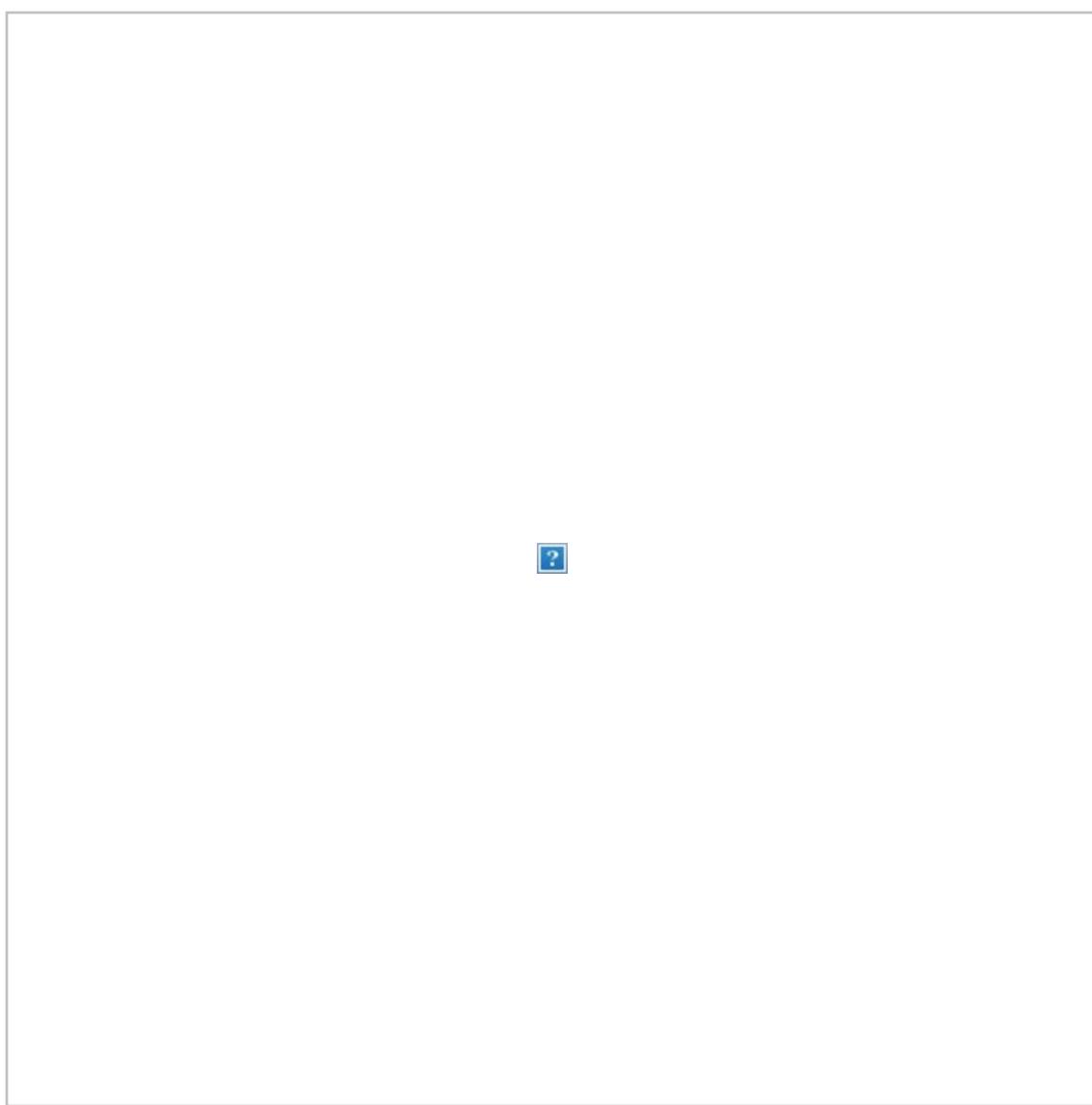
once used as an internment camp for Japanese-Americans during World War II, has been selected to detain 1,400 children until they can be given to an adult relative, according to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The agency said Fort Sill will be used 'as a temporary emergency influx shelter' to help ease the burden on the government as it prepares to house a record number of minors even though it already operates about 168 facilities and programs in 23 states. ... Using military bases in this way is not new. In 2014, the Obama Administration placed around 7,700 migrant children on bases in Texas, California and Oklahoma, including Fort Sill."

-- **The privately funded portion of the border wall was ordered to keep its gates open indefinitely.** [From BuzzFeed News's Salvador Hernandez](#): "The controversial half-mile wall constructed along the US-Mexico border near Sunland Park, New Mexico, was erected earlier this month after organizers raised more than \$23 million on GoFundMe, the online crowdfunding site. But We Build the Wall organizers failed to obtain the required authorization to build the barrier on federal land, cutting off access to waterways and a public monument."

-- **Jurors have not been able to agree whether Scott Warren, the Arizona teacher who helped migrants, committed a crime.** [The Times's Miriam Jordan reports](#): "Key to the case was Mr. Warren's intent: Was he wholly

motivated by a humanitarian purpose when he gave food, water, shelter and clean clothes to the two men from Central America? Or was he illegally concealing the men when he allowed them to remain at the volunteer group's camp? Jurors had announced on Monday that they were deadlocked, but they resumed deliberations on Tuesday after the judge ordered them to try again — one sign of the difficult questions raised by the case."

-- **In El Paso, Border Patrol agents are holding migrants in a “human dog pound.”** [Texas Monthly’s Robert Moore reports](#): “After New Mexico State University professor Neal Rosendorf read a government report exposing dangerous overcrowding of detained migrants at the Paso del Norte International Bridge in El Paso, he headed to the port of entry to see if he could find anyone protesting conditions there. ... [He found] one hundred to 150 men behind a chain-link fence, huddled beneath makeshift shelters made from mylar blankets and whatever other scraps they could find to shield themselves from the heat of the sun. ... In a statement this week, a CBP official acknowledged that the agency was detaining migrants outdoors for extended periods.”



Acting secretary of defense Patrick Shanahan responds to reporters' questions at the Pentagon. (Manuel Balce Ceneta/AP)

ALL THE PRESIDENT'S MEN AND WOMEN:

-- Trump appears to be reconsidering nominating Patrick Shanahan as secretary of defense, [NBC News's Carol E. Lee, Courtney Kube and Leigh Ann Caldwell report](#): "The White House announced May 9 that Trump had decided to nominate Shanahan, who has

served as acting defense secretary since January. But the White House has yet to formally submit Shanahan's nomination to the Senate. **While in Normandy, France, last week to commemorate the 75th anniversary of D-Day, Trump asked at least three people what they thought of Shanahan and if they had any suggestions for different candidates, [four] people familiar with the conversations said.** They said Army Secretary Mark Esper was discussed as a possible replacement nominee should Trump decide to pull back his Shanahan announcement. Esper was among the candidates whom Trump had previously considered for the defense secretary job."

-- **The architect of the GOP tax cuts acknowledged that the tax cuts may not pay for themselves, something that Republican lawmakers repeatedly promised for months and months.** [Heather Long reports](#): "Pressed about what portion of the tax cuts were fully paid for, [Rep. Kevin Brady (R-Tex.)] said it was 'hard to know.' 'We will know in year 8, 9 or 10 what revenues it brought in to the government over time. So it's way too early to tell,' said Brady at the Peterson Foundation's annual Fiscal Summit in Washington D.C. ... Brady's comments are a marked departure from the claim many Republicans made during the tax bill debate that the tax cuts would be fully paid for by additional economic growth that would, in turn, spur additional tax revenues for government coffers. Numerous independent analyses

concluded that the tax bill would add substantially to the U.S. debt, which currently stands at \$22 trillion.”

-- McConnell pooh-poohed press reports that suggested his wife, Transportation Secretary Elaine Chao, improperly steered federal funds to Kentucky to boost his reelection campaign. [Felicia Sonmez](#) [reports](#): “Asked whether he had received any special consideration for transportation grants because of his status as Chao’s husband, the Senate majority leader turned the tables, suggesting that he had discussed federal projects with Chao and that she hadn’t steered enough funds to his state. ‘You know, I was complaining to her just last night: 169 projects, and Kentucky got only five. I hope we’ll do a lot better next year,’ McConnell told reporters Tuesday at his weekly news conference.

Politico reported Monday that Chao had tapped a top aide and former McConnell campaign staffer, Todd Inman, to serve as a ‘special intermediary’ for Kentucky, helping to steer at least \$78 million in federal grants to projects favored by the Senate majority leader. Critics have argued that the arrangement provides special political benefit to McConnell, who is up for reelection in 2020.”

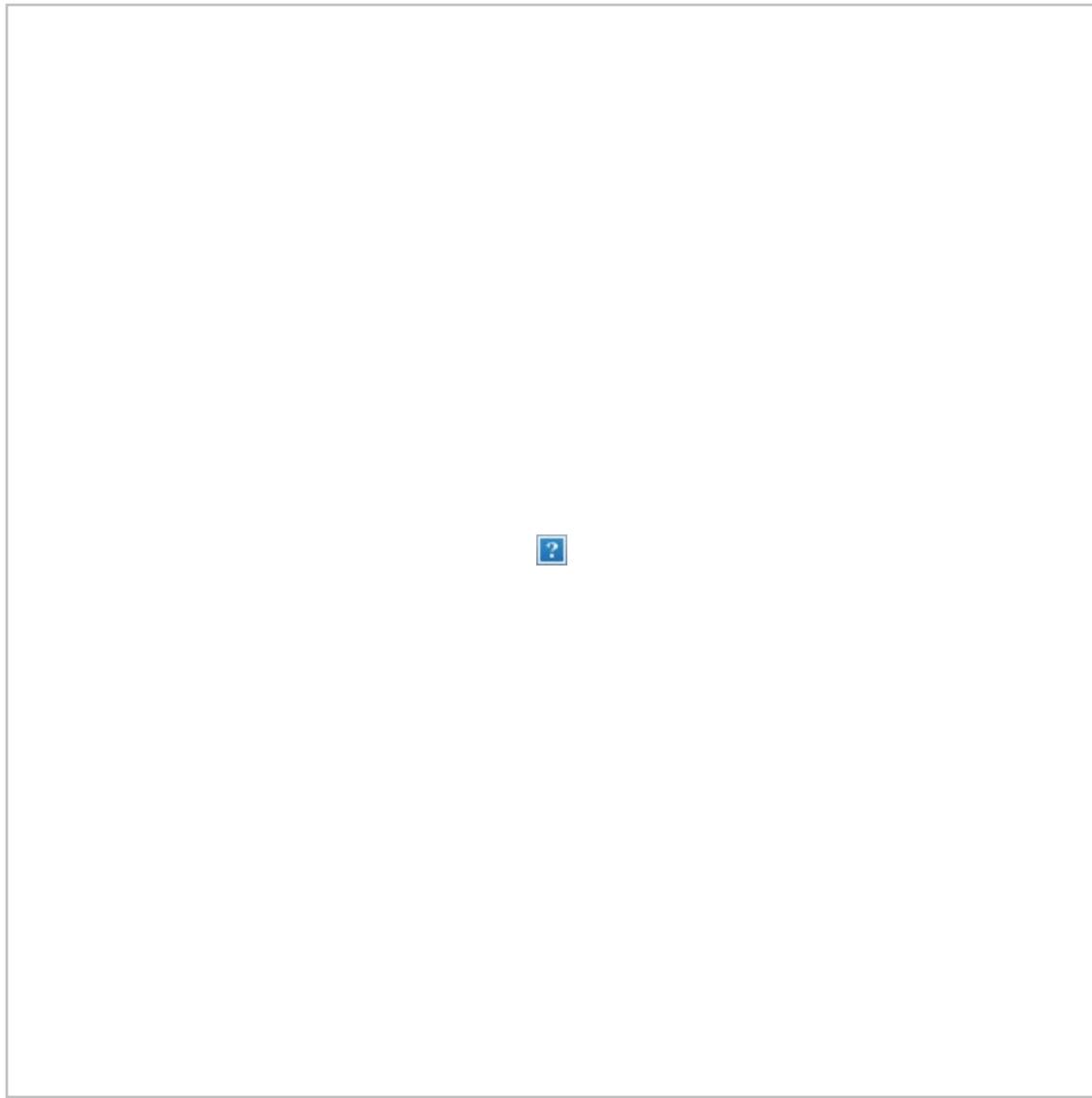
-- Rep. Liz Cheney, the No. 3 House Republican, clashed with National Republican Congressional Committee Chairman Tom Emmer (R-Minn.) over the direction of the party’s campaign arm as it tries to win back the House. [Politico’s Melanie Zanona and Jake](#)

[Sherman report](#): Emmer “used a members' only leadership meeting Monday night to press lawmakers about their party dues and contributions to the party committee. At one point, he questioned whether Cheney would continue to contribute campaign cash to the NRCC, according to multiple sources. Cheney, the House Republican Conference chair who outranks Emmer, fired back that she has met her fundraising benchmarks and paid her party dues. The Wyoming Republican ... countered that some members are concerned Emmer is artificially inflating the fundraising numbers he brings in, according to sources. Cheney also told Emmer that some lawmakers are worried about the campaign arm's general strategy going forward as it seeks to rebuild the GOP's fortunes in 2020.”

-- Trump has found a lawyer he likes: Pat Cipollone.

[Politico's Eliana Johnson reports](#): “In six months on the job, Cipollone has turned the White House Counsel's Office into a central hub of activity and made himself a constant presence in the Oval Office. A 53-year-old former corporate lawyer with an affable style, he has also made enough of an impression on Trump that the president has begun asking aides for their assessment of the White House's top lawyer — a sign that, at the least, Cipollone has his client's attention. ... Cipollone is not one to seek attention — friends note that he is often found on the edge of photographs, as if he were seeking to step

outside the frame. He is 'a cordial but cut-throat negotiator. You never know what he's thinking,' said a former client."



Jon Stewart rips Congress over 9/11 response

